142 [515] Their bodies are clean, and I have never seen a Cayapa who had a rash or boils, and only few who had scars. Their hair is thick, bristly [302] and dull black in color; the beardless men wear it semi-long to the nape of the neck, while the women let it hang loose and open so that it not only covers their backs and ears, but in part even their fore-291 heads and cheeks. Their clothes are extremely modest. The men wear a sleeveless, shirt-like, loose gown, which usually reaches to the hips only, but is sometimes longer, reaching to the knees, in which case it seems to be the holiday attire, and it looks richer having a border of differently colored cloth. These clothes are made of thin, very bright and cheap cotton materials. On special occasions 292 they even dress in gala clothes, which differ from their every-day 531 clothes in that they are decorated with straight lines or zig-zag de-301 signs of shells. In addition they may deck themselves out in their 177 most precious ornaments consisting of two to ten long necklaces made of multi-colored glass beads as well as (at least from their point of view) especially beautiful neck and arm ornaments consisting of the cardboards 6 cm. wide so well known to all of us, with a whole gross of ordinary porcelain shirt-buttons on each just as they were delivered by the European manufacturers. But even among them there are 292 dandies and fashion hounds, who manage to pick up a useless old 177 black waistcoat somewhere, which they then decorate with a lot of white shells and buttons, wearing it as a sort of open vest over their red or blue shirts. But imagine the happiness of the young man who in addition to this splendor, has managed to acquire a stiff round felt hat. No matter how shabby, battered, greasy and much too small it may be on his fat pate with the thick mop of hair, he is proud of his elegance and would not change places even with the governor. The ● 622 Gobernador de los Cayapas (Governor of the Cayapas) is one of their 177 chiefs, of which each village or district has one—yes of course—he 292 is a great gentleman—he can afford it—he not only wears a shell 301 bedecked waistcoat over his red cotton shirt, but over it still another long, black morning-coat, which he has bought from or been given by Don So-and-so, because it had become too tight, unfashionable or shabby for the latter. And around his neck and wrists he wears especially wide cardboards with buttons in proportion to his dignity. Naturally it would be considered unseemly for a governor to come to town without suitable head-gear, even if it be only a self-made straw panama hat for lack of a black felt hat. But even he does not wear [293] trousers or shoes, which are considered superfluous and burdensome; instead he carries in his right hand a wooden stick five feet long with a silver knob as a symbol of his position and power.

352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cooking utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunting and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible, consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows, i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these. It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes) with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[273] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato (corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

2; Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

ECONOMICS

The *Cayapa* economic unit is the virtually self-sufficient, one-family household. Land is owned and worked familially, and there is as much land to be had as the family can clear. If any special rules govern distribution and inheritance, they are not reported by our sources. Also, there seem to be very few provisions for interhousehold cooperation: men will help a neighbor bring down a tree trunk from the hills, but all other activities are evidently left to individual enterprise.

This self-sufficiency does not apply to all spheres of activity. Machetes and rifles are essential in jungle life, and most families make at least one trip a year to the coast for trading and social purposes. In the small Ecuadorean and Colombian towns they find a ready market for rubber, tagua nuts, and other forest products. Cocoa is grown specifically for this trade. There is also a limited market for some of their manufactures: canoes, mats, fans, and other basketry. In exchange, the *Cayapa* want metal goods: axes, machetes, shotguns, fishhooks, fish spears, and copper tubing for their distilleries. But they also like beads and mirrors, pearls, vests, and old derby hats. In recent years machine-made muslins and calicoes have been edging out native-made cloth.

The *Cayapa* are not yet incorporated in Ecuadorean economy. Their need for metal goods and trinkets has not yet forced them to work on plantations or in placer gold mines. Their own supply of rum has helped them avoid debts contracted for alcohol, and they have usually retreated into the forest when their self-sufficiency has been menaced. It is improbable that this selective acculturation can last very long.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The basic *Cayapa* social unit is the household. Though there is no definite indication as to size and composition, it appears to be an extended family including normally no more than 10 to 12 people. Chief Antonio Napa's house at Punta Venado could seat some 40-odd people at a feast, but it was unique in size, and the Napa household according to Basurco (1894) had only 8 to 10 members.

Barrett (1925) presents a detailed chart of kinship terms used by the *Cayapa*. We unfortunately know nothing about the behavior that goes with the terms or about marriage rules. On the face of it the system is a "lineal" one—collateral relatives are separated from lineal ones but are not differentiated among themselves. Thus, the term for uncle applies to both paternal and maternal ones. All terms are highly descriptive. There is no evidence of reciprocal use of terms, but Barrett's chart is not really complete. The system is quite unique and interesting.

The lineal and descriptive nature of the kinship system emphasizes the bilateral character of the *Cayapa* family. There is no clan organization. The extended family household is the truly basic social unit. There is

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

There is some evidence of patriliocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. It appears that courtship was left to the young people. The unmarried women [illegible] at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession to political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cayapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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In pl. XI is shown the ground-plan of one of the largest of the Cayapa houses. This is the largest of the four dwellings of the chief of the Punta Venado division, and is commonly called "*la casa grande del Gobernador*." This structure is situated on the southwestern bank of the Rio Cayapas, at a point just up-stream from the confluence of the Herradura Grande. The house is occupied usually by at least two families, and can comfortably accomodate as many as forty people if necessary. The structural details of this dwelling are typical of those of Cayapa houses in general, although the others are somewhat smaller. This "casa grande" is 87 feet in extreme length by 41 feet in extreme width. The floor may be divided into two areas by the line *b-c*, which represents that along which the two inner gables meet and where the pambil eaves-trough is placed to prevent the water from running in on the floor. The larger floor area (*a*) is the general living and sleeping room, and is 50 by 35 feet, exclusive of the raised projections (*e*), which extend from six to seven feet in each case. This entire floor area is covered by a single large roof. The smaller area (*b*), about 30 feet square, is, as before stated, at the same level as the larger area, but it is covered by a separate roof, and it is here that the fire-box is situated and where all food is prepared and cooked. The fire-box (*c*) is 4 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 9 inches, and is raised about three feet from the floor. The projection (*d*), about 5 feet 6 inches wide and 19 feet 6 inches long, is at the same level as the main floor, but is made of bamboo. Here

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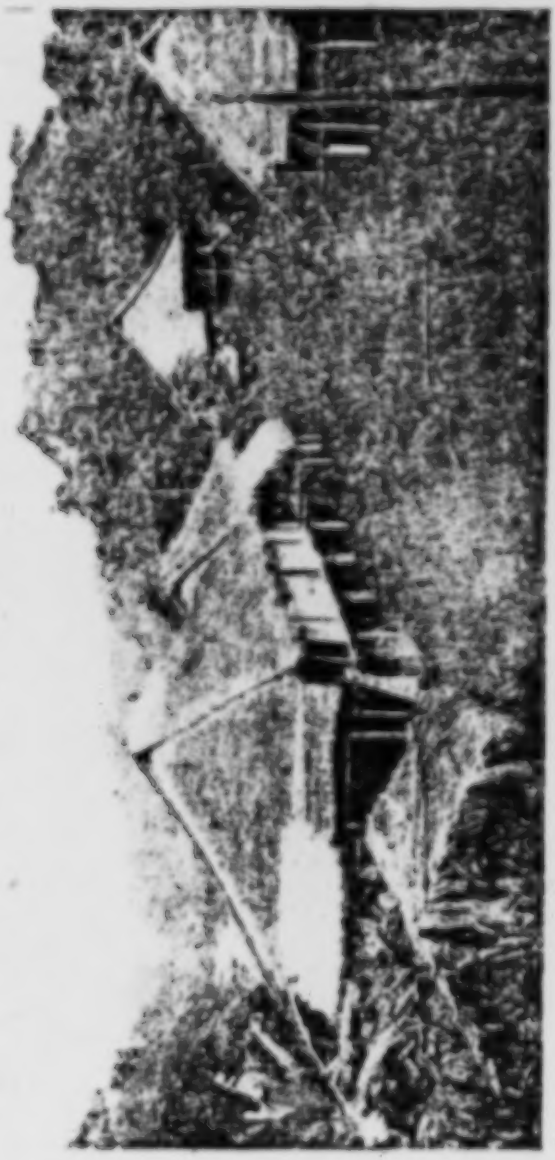

CHIEF'S HOUSE, SAPAYO GRANDE

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 54 (E)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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GROUND PLAN OF CHIEF'S HOUSE

[p. 56 (a)]

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GOVERNMENT

622 624 [177 639] In large measure the mode of government now in vogue among the Cayapa is based on the Spanish system at present employed in Ecuador; consequently we find in each of the three divisions of the Cayapa the following officials: Gobernador, secretario de la gobernación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento. The office of each of these officials is hereditary and on the death of the incumbent passes to his eldest living son or, if he has no sons, to his eldest living brother. In case he has neither son nor brother, the office passes to the eldest son of his eldest deceased brother, and should no such son be living, it passes to the eldest of his nearest male relatives, thus keeping the office always within the family. This system of succession is obviously an aboriginal one and was naturally retained when the new form of government was engrafted upon the old.

It sometimes happens that the hereditary candidate for an office does not wish to assume it. In such event it passes to the next in line in the order mentioned, or, by common consent of the heads of the related familes concerned, it may pass out of this order. Ordinarily such a condition does not arise, but instances have been known where an hereditary candidate declined to accept an office to which he was legally entitled, and which it was not only his privilege but also his duty to accept.

[177] The Spanish form of government has existed for many years, so that it is now difficult to determine exactly what the aboriginal Cayapa government was. It would appear, however, that there were but three classes of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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officials: First, a chief, known as ûˈnyĭ or ûˈmĭ, and now gobernador; second, one or more sub-chiefs, casawaˈlyĭ, now called gobernador nuevo; third, a class which might be termed officers of the law, called tcaˈitala. All the officers of the present Spanish form of government, other than the gobernador and the gobernador nuevo, are classed under the last head, and in reality all serve the same purposes as did the ancient tcaˈitala.

The center of government inheres in the chief, no matter where he may reside, and practically all matters, but especially matters of importance, are referred to him.

The Cayapa are separated, geographically and politically, into three divisons, each with its section of the river and its particular village which is used only at times of fiestas or for other gatherings. These divisions are those of Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, these designations being taken for convenience from the names of their respective villages in the order in which they are met in going up the Rio Cayapas. A part of Punta Venado is shown in pl. VIII, while a distant view of the village from the river is shown in pl. IX. This is the largest and most important of the three villages. In pl. X is presented a view of a part of Sapayo Grande, with the chief's house in the left foreground.

In each of these villages the chief has a large house, and it is here that most matters of importance are settled, justice is dispensed, and punishment inflicted. In such a house there is a large special room, at one end of which is a heavy stocks for the confinement of prisoners when necessary. In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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In the Cayapa country the stocks is strictly
681 a Spanish institution, so far as can be learned, and has
177 no Cayapa name, but is always called by the Spanish term cepo, or, as it is rendered locally, se'pō. So far as known it was introduced among the Cayapa by early missionaries.

622 In speaking of ceremonies (page 392), detailed descriptions are given of the methods of punishment, which theoretically is meted out only by the chief and the subchief. The remaining officers of the government, however, take a hand in the actual punishment when asked to do so by the chief, though their special duty is to apprehend and bring the offenders to justice, to keep order at fiestas and other gatherings, and generally to execute the laws devised by the chief, whose authority is supreme and whose word in all matters is absolutely binding. His attitude, however, is in no way oppressive; on the contrary, he displays great deference to public opinion and conducts the affairs of government in a harmonious and satisfactory manner. Perhaps the operations of the Cayapa governmental machinery are shown to best advantage in the settlement of what may be termed civil difficulties, for, as has been previously pointed out, there are few fixed laws among the Cayapa, largely for the reason that few crimes are committed. The laws are more in the nature of canons of ethics than statutory enactments, and they may be varied to a certain extent by public opinion concerning the particular case in hand. The Cayapa maintain that they have no punishment for theft, because theft does not exist either among themselves or against their neighbors. This reputation is borne out by the whites and negroes of the region, who

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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declare the Cayapa absolutely honest. It is claimed also 677
that murder and other major crimes are entirely unknown among them.

On the other hand, there are strict rules with respect 684
to marital relations, any infringement of which meets with severe punishment. The details of this phase of Cayapa life will be discussed in dealing with the subject of marriage. The Cayapa themselves claim that in [177]
aboriginal times the same regulations in respect to these matters were in vogue, but presumably they may have been at least strengthened, if not considerably influenced, by the rigid church laws introduced by missionaries.

It is said that formerly, when the Cayapa were a 173
united mountain people residing in a village community, there was but one chief and one government for all, but that soon after they settled along the banks of the river they became segregated into the three divisions as above mentioned. There then arose the three separate villages for fiestas and other gatherings, and the three separate and independent governments. No special reason for this separation is given by the Cayapa, other than that it was more convenient than to have a single central government; and no explanation could be obtained as to how the officials of the three separate governments were first appointed or elected.

It is said that in aboriginal times the inauguration of a new official was attended by no special ceremony, but that he automatically assumed the duties of his office on the death of his predecessor. At present, however, such a 622 624
person enters on these duties only after having been duly inducted by the priest during his annual visit to the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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622 624 village. The successor of an official is definitely known long before the death of the latter, but an official vacancy is not actually filled until the coming of the priest. Then, in the presence of all the other officials and anyone else who may wish to be present, the priest delivers an address in which he names the new official, announces his duties and privileges, commends him to the respect of the people, and charges him with the duties and responsibilities which he is about to assume. On the death of the chief, for instance, his duties are relegated to some other official, usually one of the "alcaldes," until such time as the priest shall arrive and inaugurate a successor.

465 622 681 None of these officials are supposed to receive compensation other than the honor and respect in which they are held. The chief, however, usually levies fines upon offenders, of which he takes personal possession and could, if he so desired, use a portion of them for his private needs, since no special account of such matters is kept by anyone. As a matter of fact such a thing rarely or never happens; on the contrary the chief uses the fines for paying the services of officers of the law whom he may send on missions of various kinds, such as bringing culprits to justice, settling disputes among his people, and the like. A portion of the money he uses also for the payment of shamans whom he employs now and then to expel dangerous spirits from his village, from deep pools in the river, or from other places where these mysterious beings are supposed to endanger the lives of the people at large. At the present time, when coins of Ecuador and Colombia are comparatively easy to obtain, fines are paid in money, but in earlier times they were always paid in commodities.

[756 776 799] [836]

J: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

upon the table; the rest was divided into small bits, and, after an invocation by the warden of the church, the men and boys, all seated on low benches about the table, proceeded to feast. The women meanwhile partook of a portion of the food that had been sent to the next room to them. Having finished the meal, a benediction was pronounced by the warden and the floor was cleared of all scraps of food and the leaves forming the table.

Immediately fresh leaves were spread as at first, and the boda, the word being here used in its more restricted sense, was served. While an olrenda has a very elaborate assortment of foods, a boda has only fish, oysters, or meats cooked in ripe plantain in the form of a thick gruel. This is served always in the aboriginal pottery plates of the kind shown in pl. LXXXVII, 4, although for everyday use dishes of European manufacture have almost entirely supplanted the pottery plates formerly used. In this particular case the boda consisted of a single course of plantain and fish, but sometimes other courses are served in order. The feast having been finished, the majority of the people went to their respective abodes in the village or to the house of the chief.

At such gatherings offenders against the law are usually brought before the chief, by whom justice is dispensed and differences between individuals adjudicated. On this particular occasion several matters of this nature demanded the chief's attention. The details of these will show something of the methods of dispensing justice among the Cayapa.

Immediately after the boda on this first day the chief sent some officers to bring before him certain offenders

Cayapa and Colorado and thereby systematically proved the relationship that had always been assumed on purely inspectional grounds (Moore 1962). The most recent classification proposed by Greenberg places Cayapa-Colorado within the sub family called Paezan, which together with Chibchan proper belongs to the Macro-Chibchan family (Greenberg 1956). This classification is similar to that proposed by Mason (Mason 1950:180). A claim that Cayapa is closely related to Mayan is proposed by Professor Aguilee R. Peres T; however, the documentation is not convincing at present (Peres 1960: 491-494).

History. The first actually reliable information on the Cayapa comes from the pen of W. B. Stevenson, who visited them briefly in 1809. At that time, there was but one group of Cayapa (those who lived in the vicinity of Punta Venado). The chief, or alcalde, as Stevenson called him, carried a "baston, insignia of authority" which he presented to Stevenson. He then ordered the Indians to obey Stevenson ". . . and they advanced one after another to kiss the head of the baston, and accompanied me to the house of the alcalde, which was

situated about thirty yards from the river side" (Stevenson 1829:405). Unfortunately, Stevenson's description of Cayapa life was meager, for he was much more interested in the Malâbe, a group of reputedly wild Indians who lived along the Río San Miguel, a tributary of the Río Cayapas. The Cayapa were as loathe to visit the Malâbe as Stevenson was eager to do so. After some hesitation, the alcalde, having been promised various gifts, ordered two men to take Stevenson up river. It is of considerable interest to note that the Cayapa chief had sufficient authority to order two of his people to accompany Stevenson into the land of the "savage" Malâbe. Stevenson reported that the Malâbe were quite gentle and that they spoke a variant of Quechua, a language spoken throughout the Andes from Ecuador to Peru and Bolivia. The Malâbe no longer exist as an ethnic group; however, this is the term used by the present day Cayapa to designate a group of evil spirits that dwell somewhere in the monte or bush.

It would appear, given the position of the Cayapa near the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas and the Malâbe at its upper reaches, that the migration of the Cayapa from their ancient Andean homeland as stated in

their traditional tales probably took place by way of the Río Santiago until the confluence with the Río Cayapas was reached; thence, movement was up the Río Cayapas.

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named San Miguel de Cayapas and in 1894 Reascos recorded Cayapa living up the Río Zapallo Grande and the Río San Miguel. The latter group is reported to have an airalde (Reascos 1894:414). Between 1859 and 1879 the Malábe had apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Zapallo Grande, and San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own ceremonial center and being led by an /ʔaʔlí/ or gobernador. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by Gabriel Anapa, the /ʔaʔlí/ of the Punta Venado group, that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people had left the Zapallo Grande section and had formed a new tribal unit with its own /ʔaʔlí/. They left after a dispute with the /ʔaʔlí/ of Zapallo grande concerning the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient center in the mountainous upper reaches of the Río

all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayuga rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayuga. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in cleaning the place. The [illegible] began the work of

clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and some of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fiestera, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

Negroes present for Church services, because they like to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against the/ún^{y}i/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers to the fiesta.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared for the church activities. This meant that they put on their newest clothing, and young children were dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn by women, they often had row upon row of beads and bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside with their whips, and as people approached, they struck them several times across the buttocks. Some went into the church, where the chief stood in front of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows. Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of the officials went into each of the houses looking for stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

Christmas was similar, except that there were no nighttime processions around the church. Ideally, seven sponsors are chosen for the Christmas fiesta, and they are expected to supply rum, tobacco, and guarapo, and perfumed toilet water which is used to douse the fiesteros during the evening following the church services on the twenty-fifth. The families of the sponsors distribute the goods to all comers until the supply is exhausted. This is expensive, and the outlay in cash may run to over five hundred sucres. While it is said to be an honor to be a sponsor, no one apparently accepts the honor willingly. Sour corn meal is prepared several days before Christmas and mixed with water. This drink, called cangu is put in small canoe-like containers on the evening of the 25th. Ten to twelve containers are divided up and blessed by the chief who makes the sign of the cross. The drink is then carried around and people dip gourds of it and drink. During the Christmas fiesta, the chief wandered around for hours arguing with men who claimed that they were too busy or too poor to become a sponsor for the next Christmas fiesta. Finally, the chief lost his temper and

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several cannes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

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ugly to hear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three brujos were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

It is felt that brujos can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive accuracy was never attributed to Cayapa brujos. The father of Pedumo of Bonanza was a brujo who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Governador, secretario de la governación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:313). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

main classes of officials. First, there is the /ún^{y}i/ or gobernador; second, there is the /káa ún^{y}i/ or gobernador nuevo; and third, there are those officials called /č^{y}á^{i}tala/. This term may derive from /čaǩí/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /tánde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /č^{y}á^{i}tala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /č^{y}á^{i}tala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /ún^{y}i/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policemen and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /ún^{y}i/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

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The /ún^{y}i/ chief of each of the tribal sections is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /kása ún^{y}i/ may become the chief upon the death of the /ún^{y}i/ provided the eldest son of the /ún^{y}i/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

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announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindalenas acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindalenas was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

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uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /kuⁿi/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capital, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /kuⁿi/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /kuⁿi/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /kuⁿi/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinriku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes: rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (cf Easton 1958; Rivera 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk: these observations extended over many months.

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The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

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been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /ʔiŋʔi/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiestaeros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /ʔiŋʔi/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /haviru/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /ʔiŋʔi/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Rapallo Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

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As the fiesta were on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /ʔinᵛɨ/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /ʔinᵛɨ/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comedy [drunks moralising to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /ʔinᵛɨ/.

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After assuming office he merely continued his usual drinking behavior which apparently was the culturally normal pattern. A normally intoxicated Cayapa cannot settle disputes adequately nor can he maintain law and order effectively. An important point also is that the sober Cayapa feels absolutely no guilt or shame for his behavior while drunk. His work routine has not been disrupted, his family is not neglected, no one points a scornful finger at him. For the Gabriel, the situation was quite different. The instant he became the /ʔuntʃi/ he was expected to change a lifetime of habit formation. Political behavior involving the shift of support from one authority to another entered a phase of psychological warfare. A new authority was to be created and the old one destroyed psychologically. The new authority was to be created in the image of what the people felt an /ʔuntʃi/ should be like. The lack of congruence between the people's expectation of authority and their actual perception of authority created a situation of intense ambiguity wherein Gabriel was being culturally defined as an alcoholic. The ambiguous nature of his position,

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the presence of very heavy, culturally-approved drinking, and the constant moralizing and expressions of political disaffection brought Gabriel to the inescapable cycle that began to isolate him as the only apparent alcoholic in a society of heavy drinkers. It may be that as Gabriel begins to succumb to addictive alcoholism, the individual pressures exerted politically will begin to mold his personality in a new direction; as the gap between expected and observed authority progressively narrows, political behavior will progressively decrease, and the Cayapa governmental system will approach a measure of stability.

But only was Gabriel's authority on probation within the Punta Venado group but it was completely rejected by the people of the other tribal sections. Gabriel felt that as the senior /ʃuʃ/ he should be in charge of all Cayapa affairs. Barrett reported that during his stay, Gabriel's father was in effective control of all of the Cayapa sections, leaving to the other chiefs only minor matters (Barrett 1960: personal communication).

Gabriel attempted to assert some measure of

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personal discretion during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Broadus that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayuga and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Lismore. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayuga can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

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old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Venado group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Venado], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cimarrón house in Encanto. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Encanto when needed.

It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

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and never by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally voiced dissatisfaction.

John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of close and loose structures:

> Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:182) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out (Embree 1950:185).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually preclude social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

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found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers.

The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late /ũn^{y}i/, Arcilio Pianchichi, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Añapa, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner:

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> In Siamese society it is relatively easy to achieve a fait acompli by doing something not approved by other members of the group. But in so doing one does not necessarily achieve the acceptance of the others. The "accomplished fact" does not accomplish much (Embree 1950: 185).

It is precisely at this point that the Cayapa offer a dramatic contrast. The strong-minded deviant in Cayapa society can, by his determination, make his accomplished fact a model for emulation and ultimate acceptance by the members of his society. Cayapa society is structurally unable, in the normal course of events, to permit the development of concerted and protracted pressure on an individual deviant. The only approach to this occurred when Gabriel assumed his position as /ún^{y}i/. Gabriel was not a man who commanded respect from either the Negroes or the Indians. He did not speak Spanish well, he drank to excess and was unable to perform his duties, he was not well versed in the law, and he was a poor man. For the Cayapa, the /ún^{y}i/ should be a man of infinite wisdom, who is well spoken both in Cayapa and in Spanish, a man who can stand up to the Negroes for the Cayapa,

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a man who can govern justly with a minimum of friction. People may be born in this mold and others may change aspects of their personality and perceptions through the performance of required role behavior in new status positions. This latter situation is being structured by the Cayapa in terms of a unique kind of political behavior.

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anxiety of Cayapa life.

Given these features of Cayapa life and culture it may be seen that tribal cohesion can best be achieved by means of a chief who fulfills the requirements of dominance that goes hand in glove with attitudes of submission in a people who lack both confidence and competence. Political behavior as described in the body of the text may be viewed as a projective system, in Kardiner's terms, wherein an attempt is made to mold the present chief into an image of their ego ideal.

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and probed and usually found wanting.

Cayapa law readily lends itself to a division into Civil and Criminal law. The former is concerned mainly with property (especially land) while the latter is preeminently concerned with sexual behavior and sin. In the realm of Cayapa Civil law, especially in cases that involve land, legal decisions are compromises in the sense that the usurper is permitted limited return on his labor. There is agreement by all parties to the dispute that land as such is owned, but lacking written records, the best proof that a claimant to land ownership has is evidence of his having worked the land he claims. Work is the best validation of ownership, but the land need not be continuously worked; however, as work is neglected, and as memories fade, ownership is contested. Basically, land disputes involve a claim by the usurper that the original ownership is in jeopardy. These claims are always balanced with the claims of the owner and a compromise solution is reached. The land, in effect, is shared for a period of time and the owner is warned that he must continue to work his land intensively or be subject to further challenges to his ownership. Compromise is an effective

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solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling alliances with one party as opposed to the other. Whether this serves to enhance the position of the chief in his role as third person in the legal process, is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of /ún^{y}i/ is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

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In the legal materials dealing with land it is seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in complete agreement as to the nature of land and its ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what the basic issues and values are. Women are valued goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply. A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not

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When a new /ún^{y}i/ takes the reins

of authority, his individual personality and behavior, complicated by the cultural emphasis on heavy drinking, will effect the complementarity of expectations between the /ún^{y}i/ and the people. If there is a lack of conformity between the behavior of the /ún^{y}i/ and the expectancies of the people, there will be an effort on the part of individuals to effect conformity by engaging in moralizing, gossiping, nagging, and threats to shift allegiance to other authorities—all directed against one man, the /ún^{y}i/. The aim of all of these kinds of behavior is to return to the status quo ante, when the late /ún^{y}i/ was the image of true leadership. As the new /ún^{y}i/ is pressured into modifying his behavior in the direction of the cultural expectancies, the agitation and political behavior will diminish.

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